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The children are usually afraid of the spirits, who are legion, and some of whom might be called bugaboos of one kind or another, but threats of these beings or of ghosts are never resorted to in order to frighten the youngsters into good conduct, except again in the first two cases just mentioned.

To the Isneg future life is simply a continuation of the present one, except for a few differentiating details, as living in a silver house and so on. A man, whether good or bad, continues his daily life, like in a dream, at the other side of the tomb, just as if nothing had happened. The difference that exists between the interred body of a good man and that of a bad one, which will be explained in due time, can have only very little influence on the conduct of men here on earth; and besides, there also the question of shame is of paramount importance, no less than among the living, as will be seen later on.

Consequently practically every article of the socio-moral code gets its sanction from non-religious or natural motives. Shame is the most often resorted to, shame that results from the known violation of any point of the moral code, shame that affects not only the delinquent, but also his parents. "Do not do that lest your parents be shamed" is a phrase very commonly used in order to persuade the child to conduct itself well. The terms "shame (*aliyáw*)", "shameful (*nakal-aliyáw*)", "ashamed (*maliyáw*)", are almost continually on the Isneg's lips; they serve both as an excuse for negligence in complying with one's duties, and as a motive for good behavior. Nothing is more powerful than the fear of being shamed in order to cause an Isneg either to live honorably or to commit a dastardly crime. An Isneg is exceedingly sensitive to shameful and opprobrious epithets; he will do anything to avoid any of them being thrown at his head, and he resents it very much if he is accused undeservedly. Lest he be called a coward, an Isneg will sustain a quarrel indefinitely, whether he be on the right side or not. Shame is the biggest incentive for young people to behave and to keep themselves from indulging in all too flagrant transgressions of the moral code, especially with reference to sex morality. An Isneg child will be taught to be obedient and respectful toward its parents, lest the latter be shamed on account of its unruly conduct. Honesty and truthfulness have to be practised lest a man be branded as a thief or a liar, which are exceedingly opprobrious terms in the mouth of a native. In short, the fear of shame keeps the Isneg on the right path in a thousand instances; and any kind of privation or hardship will be suffered patiently, the

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V. Death and Burial

A. Death

What is death? What happens after death? What causes death? Let us see what are the answers given by the Isneg to these very interesting and all important questions, and examine them in detail.

1. Concept of Death

Death, if I understand the Isneg mind well, is a change by which a person ceases to exist as an ordinary human being, and, in the state of a *kaduduwá* (soul?), continues to live indefinitely, ultimately at least in the realm of the dead, leaving behind an *innát* (corpse).

This definition needs some explanation.

Death is "a change". I purposely refrain from calling it "a separation or disconnection of two parts", as I doubt very much if the Isneg explicitly consider man, while alive, to consist of more than one element. They know that man has a *baggí* (body), and to this they usually refer as "he (she)" while a person is alive; but I know of no expressions that would lead one to believe that the Isneg explicitly recognize in man two elements which would correspond to our "body" and "soul". Man, while alive, has a *baggí* (body), and the natives do not seem to enter further into the question of his nature. Nevertheless they most certainly believe implicitly that man is composed of two essential parts, as may be proved by the following:

First, when talking about a *kaduduwá* (soul?), they always refer to it as *ya kaduduwána*, "the soul(?) of *him, his* soul(?)", which seems to imply that this *kaduduwá* belongs to him, thus that it is not exactly his own complete self, but only a part of him. It is true that, when speaking about a person after death and not explicitly mentioning the term *kaduduwá*, they simply refer to his *kaduduwá* as "he (she)" without any further qualifications, as if the body, as we understand it, did not belong to him (her) any more; but this does not exclude the fact that, whenever they use the term *kaduduwá*, they always call it "his (her)" *kaduduwá, ya kaduduwána*.

Second, the Isneg know very well that the dead body and the *kaduduwá* belong to one and the same person, as will be seen presently when referring to the tattooing of the body and the clothing of the *innát*, which, the natives believe, greatly influence the state of the *kaduduwá*. Thus, in their eyes, the *kaduduwá* and the *innát* are not exactly strangers to one another. Besides, the objects that are

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761 placed in the coffin at burial are supposed to be used, not by the
775 corpse, but by the *kaduduwá*, so that the connection between the two
764 continues at least for a certain period after death. Add to this that the *balańóbáń* or revivified *innát* is also definitely known to belong to the dead person as well as his *kaduduwá*: this is proved by the fact that the transformation of the corpse into a *balańóbáń* is supposed to depend on the character of the person, while the latter was still alive, all of which will be explained in due time.

774 Third, the term *kaduduwá* itself. Semantically, and perhaps lin-
197 guistically, the Isneg term *kaduduwá* corresponds to the Iloko term
775 *kararuá*, "soul". Semantically: both terms have probably an identical meaning; anyhow they most certainly refer to one and the same thing: the spirit of man that continues to live after death. Perhaps linguistically: when we compare several Filipino languages with one another, it is clearly seen that *d* and *r* very often interchange; for instance: Ibanag *nararál* and Iloko *nadadáel* (destroyed), Isneg *matúdog* and Iloko *matúrog* (to sleep), Isneg *adú* and Ibanag *arú* (many). *A* and *o* or *u*, when not bearing the accent, are often interchanged, or at least their pronunciation is blurred and they are hardly to be distinguished from one another; for instance: Isneg *maxudódit* and *maxadódit* (to tell a story), *obóbát* and *abóbát* (the ceremony that concludes the period of mourning). And so, linguistically, the distance between Iloko *kararuá* (pronounced *kararuwá*) and Isneg *kaduduwá* does not seem to be very great.

Etymologically, however, Isneg *kaduduwá* and Iloko *kararuá* seem to be entirely different; on the contrary, the Isneg term *kaduduwá* and the Iloko *kaduá* (pronounced *kaduwá*) are one etymologically, although seemingly very different semantically: as *kaduá* in Iloko means "companion", which in Isneg is rendered by *kabbulón*. Both Isneg *kaduduwá* and Iloko *kaduá* are composed of the stem *duwá* (written *duá* in Iloko), "two", partly reduplicated in Isneg, and the prefix *ka*, indicating companionship, concomitance, etc., in both languages.

In view of all this it seems reasonable to infer that the Isneg seem to consider the spirit that continues to live after death, not exactly as a companion (in this case they would call it *kabbulón*), but as a part of something, a counterpart, something that goes with something else (prefix *ka*), and to which, in numbers, it would correspond as number "two (*duwá*)", not in time and successively or consecutively, but concomitantly (on account of the prefix *ka*).

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These three facts combined prove that the Isneg, at least implicitly, consider a living man as consisting of two elements: the *baggí* or body, of which no more mention is made after death, as an *innát* (corpse) takes its place, and the *kaduduwá* or spiritual element that continues to live and is usually invisible.

Through death "a person ceases to exist as an ordinary human being". Indeed, the *kaduduwá*, although its life is similar in many respects to that of a living person on earth, is usually quite invisible and "continues to live indefinitely". I say "indefinitely": why not "eternally"? It must be remembered that the Isneg have no notion of eternity as such; they know that the *kaduduwá* continues to live, they never heard of a *kaduduwá* dying, but if it lives eternally, that goes beyond their comprehension, or, to be exact, they never think as far ahead as that. And so what looks to the Isneg as "indefinite" (living on indefinitely), if considered under our own viewpoint, would probably mean "eternal" (living on eternally). The corpse also is far from existing as an ordinary human being. Not that the Isneg consider it to be completely devoid of any animating principle, but that it is dead for the time being, and if it lives afterwards in the state of a *balańóbáń*, its life cannot be compared with that of an ordinary man.

The *kaduduwá* goes to live "ultimately at least in the realm of the dead". This will be explained more fully when referring to the state of man after death.

"Leaving behind an *innát*". *Innát* is the body of a man immediately after death, as long as it stays in the house, and before burial, if burial takes place. The *innát* is dead, it neither moves nor breathes, it needs neither food nor drink. We shall see presently whether the Isneg believe all dead bodies to remain in that state, in the state of *innát*, until decay sets in.

2. *Future Life*

What happens after death? And first as to the *kaduduwá*.

The night after a person's death (some say: "at any time after his death"; but this could never mean "immediately after death" on account of the necessity of the *innát* being clothed), *Kútaw*, the ferryman, or rather the ferry spirit, comes along to bring the *kaduduwá* over the great pond (*lablabbáń*) to the realm of the dead. Here, according to some informants, the *kaduduwá* receives hospitality at *Kútaw*'s house until the latter brings it on its way to the house of its relatives who died before.

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715 763 In order to insure the transaction of the whole business without hindrance of any kind, the survivors have to fit out the *inndt* or corpse with brand-new clothes, and a rent must be made in each garment (*maxáyxdy*).

[515] Now, what happens to the *kaduduwá*, in case the relatives have failed to comply with their duty, and have left the dead body wearing its dirty old clothes (Isneg clothing is usually both dirty and old), or if they have given it new garments, but without having taken the precaution of tearing them before *Kútaw*'s arrival? Both cases are almost wholly imaginary, as may be readily understood: indeed, the Isneg always see to it that everything is done according to custom, most certainly in this matter. Nevertheless it may happen that the *inndt* cannot be given new clothes; for instance, when a man dies by accident (drowning and so on) and his body cannot be recovered. The rarity of such cases may be one of the principal reasons why explanations on this point differ almost from man to man, and why even one and the same person may offer different explanations. Indeed, although it is a matter of the invisible world, the Isneg would hardly be so contradictory in their statements if they had to do with happenings that are supposed to occur regularly.

What is said to happen to the *kaduduwá*, if the *inndt* wears ordinary everyday garments? Some say that *Kútaw* passes by and refuses to ferry the *kaduduwá* over the big pond. Others say that he brings it over the water, but leaves it there as it is, without either conducting it or showing it the way to its final abode or to the place where its dead relatives are actually spending their time. In any case the *kaduduwá* will be wandering around at a loss what to do and where to go, although exactly what happens to it remains more or less of a mystery. Its punishment, however, seems merely to consist in a kind of loss, probably temporary, namely the loss of an immediately happy life, which would have been its lot had it found at once the relatives who went ahead to the other side of the pond.

And what happens to a *kaduduwá* whose *inndt* has been given new clothes, but whose relatives have failed to tear them,—which is done by making a small rent in every garment at one of its sides? Some say that *Kútaw* positively refuses to bring such a *kaduduwá* to the other side of the pond. Others say that both tarry a long time, because *Kútaw* feels inclined to entertain this nicely clothed individual and to have a long talk with him, and so the latter's ultimate bliss is

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postponed for a considerable time. Others again say that *Kútaw* robs it of its garments and dons them himself, to the great dismay and shame of the poor *kadudúwá*, who from now on is obliged to wear either no clothes or at least only such as are not cared for any more by its companions at the other side of the grave. The latter informants usually add that *Kútaw* refuses to ferry this *kadudúwá* over the pond, unless it gives its brand-new clothes to him; some of them say that it may happen that *Kútaw* takes to himself not only the clothes, but also the whole *kadudúwá* (as a kind of servant). One more detail was given me by a Bayag informant: if the dead person has only one of his forearms tattooed (not both of them), *Kútaw* cuts off this tattooed limb and keeps it to himself.

To resume: some informants state that all *kadudúwá* are always ferried over the pond by *Kútaw*, but that those whose *inndt* wears no new clothes, remain like that at least for some time to come, or are left to their own devices as soon as they reach the other side, without being able to find their relatives, at least immediately, while those whose *inndt* wear new clothes without rent are either despoiled by *Kútaw* or kept back for at least a considerable time from the enjoyment that is their due. Other informants state that some *kadudúwá* are simply scorned by *Kútaw* and left on this side of the pond: either those whose *inndt* wear old clothes, or those whose new garments have not been torn. On the other hand, when asked what *kadudúwá* are living in the realm of the dead, even these last informants generally affirm that they all do.

A *labbáń* is a kind of lagoon or pool of stagnant water, of a type found in abundance all along the northern coast of Luzon, between Sanchez Mira and Aparri, and even farther east. At Nagbabalayan there is also a *labbáń*, which consists of a pool of water separated from the Apayaw river by a small elevation of land; at every large rise of the Apayaw river, however, it forms one with the latter. This Nagbabalayan *labbáń* is the regular abode of crocodiles, to whom the Nagbabalayan people offer gifts at every sacrifice. But the name *lablabbáń* belongs exclusively to the pond that separates our abode from that of the dead. Such a reduplication as occurs here usually hints at something similar to what the simple stem implies. Thus *lablabbáń* would mean a *labbáń* that is not an ordinary one, and, considering its place and use, no further proof is needed to convince everybody that it is a very peculiar pool indeed. The following mysterious fact adds to its differentiation from any other *labbáń*:

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811 *Kútaw*'s boat, which is always fastened at the *dodóñăn* (place on
772 the bank of a river where a boat is fastened, landing place) on this
776 side of the pond when not in use, has only one *pidpíd* or side plank, which means that one side of the boat is open and unprotected, and nevertheless no water ever enters her and she never goes down. Thus the *kaduduwá* is ferried over the water in a boat that consists of only about one half of an ordinary one, a boat cut in two from stem to stern. When asked how anybody could possibly cross the *lablabbáñ* in such a contrivance, the Isneg merely state that they do not know. And in this they are most certainly right. But who would dare say that the actions of the spirits have to correspond exactly with our own? Their ways are not our ways, and that settles the matter. Besides, the *lablabbáñ* is not an ordinary *labbáñ*, neither are *Kútaw* and the *kaduduwá* ordinary men, so why should the boat be an ordinary one?

772 The only other detail I have heard about the *lablabbáñ* is that it is full of cogon grass (*tabbáñ*) and of worms.

776 *Kútaw* himself was once described to me as wearing a coat from which a certain portion of cloth had been torn out entirely, and his
292 headax or *aliwá* as being deprived of one of its essential parts, namely
411 the *sáwit* or blunt projection at the back (cf. CAC–P, 1:233, fig. 68).

Once at the other side, the *kaduduwá* live a happy life in the *Aglalannawán* (called *Tagtaggăyán* at Bayag) or realm of the dead:
775 it is good (*napiyá*) to be there. Their life is comparable to a dream: they live in the same way as we do when we are dreaming. For the rest, they do not change in their ways: they plant and reap as before, have the same likes and dislikes, live on the same kind of food, with none of their old preferences gone, and so on. The house they live in, however, is not made of timber or bamboo; it is a real gold or silver one. There they stay and never come back, except at times
775 and temporarily,—for instance, when they come to get one of their
787 relatives, in which case the latter is *makaduduwá*, becomes sick and dies (such *kaduduwá* are called *gíbu-*), or when they enter the body of a shaman in order to communicate with the living, or even appear to the latter (perhaps only to the shaman), at the time of a *săy-ám* sacrifice, etc.

775 It seems to result from all this that even the Isneg have a kind of double fate for man after death: one of happiness for those who prove acceptable to *Kútaw*, and one of privation for those who have to remain behind or are left unguided at the entrance to the *Aglalan-*

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nawán. The privation, however, seems to be only temporary, as the Isneg are, so far as I know, unanimous in declaring that all *kaduduwá* finally reach the *Aglalannawán* country. It might be called eternal, or rather indefinite in time, only in case the *kaduduwá* would have either always to remain unclothed or clothed with old garments, or to continue to live separated from its relatives for lack of a guide to the abode of the latter: but I never heard anything explicit about that. I am of the opinion, that, according to Isneg belief, all *kaduduwá* in the end attain perfect bliss. I shall have to add a few points to the Isneg belief in a double retribution, when speaking about the *balañóbáñ*.

Anyhow Isneg doctrine in this respect is very different from either Christian or Northern Luzon Negrito belief:

A Christian believes in heaven, happiness, for the good, and hell, privation and actual punishment, for the bad.

A Negrito believes in life above with the deity, happiness, for the good; and, for the bad, living somewhere on earth, privation without actual punishment, or, according to some informants, being thrown into the water, being unable to move, etc., thus privation with actual punishment.

An Isneg believes in a happy life in the *Aglalannawán*, at the other side of the *lablabbáñ* pond, happiness, for those whose *inndt* or corpse has been duly prepared; and staying at this side of the *lablabbáñ* pond or living in partial poverty, at least temporarily, privation apparently without actual punishment, for those whose *inndt* has been neglected in some way. Good and bad in man, according to the Isneg, seem to affect only the state of the body after death, as will be explained in detail when referring to the *balañóbáñ*, and not that of the *kaduduwá* or immortal spirit.

Here should be noted a curious belief which I found only among the Isneg living in and around Awan (municipal district of Bayag). Not far from Awan is a place called *Nagsiñgowán*. The *kaduduwá* of anybody who dies in the neighborhood is supposed to pass at this place, dressed in full regalia, and if it is a man, carrying shield and spear. In case that *kaduduwá* asks for food at somebody's house, one of the inmates immediately accedes to its request, but as it is only a ghost, the food is not put into its mouth, but merely pushed against its chin. The *kaduduwá* always seems quite pleased anyhow, and continues its journey, but has barely gone along for a short while, when it invariably disappears.

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devouring of the corpse by *Karásaw* or by *Wirwér* must bring some punishment to the neglectful relatives, either by the *kadudurd* or by some spirit; while a corpse left unburied on account of the *tarimbáñon*, remains safe and in no danger of being fed upon by man-eating spirits, it merely loses its identity as an *innát* immediately, without having to be buried in a tomb. We shall meet *Wirwér* again in the description of a dead Isneg's burial.

Another reason for being watchful when an *innát* is present in the house, is explained like this by the Isneg: if at any time all people are asleep in the house, the *innát* or dead body stands up and starts counting the sleepers (*da-dáp*) two by two, and in case there is one left without a companion, which points to an odd number of course, this one left will die very soon. After that the *innát* leaves the house and takes a walk, only to return very soon to its former state and place. The sand that cleaves to the dead body is promptly noticed by the awakened relatives, and it furnishes them with a striking proof of the activities of the *innát* during their sleep.

What is to be understood by the *tarimbáñon?* This is how the Isneg describe it: in olden times, as soon as a person died and his body was laid down at the customary place, with the head near the wall of the house, before it was even washed or clothed, one of the inmates of the house (usually the husband or wife of the deceased) took hold of an *alló* or pestle (used to pound rice in a mortar), and with it rammed with all his might either the wall of the house or the floor from beneath, near the head of the deceased. At this juncture the *innát* invariably disappeared and left no traces behind. This was done, according to my informants, in order to get rid of the corpse without the necessity of burying it, and formerly it was a general custom. When I asked if a woman would *manarimbáñon* as well as a man, they answered me: "Yes, provided she dare do it"; but at the same time they insisted that in bygone times no corpses were buried, and that all *innát* were disposed of by the *tarimbáñon* in order to avoid the trouble attendant upon the burial of a dead person. The whole custom looks exceedingly strange, and many things about it cannot be explained satisfactorily, at least in the light of actual Isneg belief. What about the care taken by our people with reference to the clothing of the dead, the difficulties encountered by a *kadudurd* whose *innát* has not been attired in new clothes, the thousand and one ceremonies that are scrupulously performed before and at the time of burial, etc.? Indeed the *tarimbáñon* is said to take place even

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764 before the corpse is washed, and with the definite purpose of forestalling the trouble of burying it. None of my Isneg informants, however, could give me any further explanation, neither were they able to tell me, of course, how a dead body could disappear at once without more ado. The only statements they uttered were such as these: "This was the custom in olden times . . . . , formerly no *innát* was ever buried . . . . , the *tarimbáñon* was once a universal custom . . . . , long ago all Isneg *nanarimbáñon* . . . . ", and so on. Or is the whole *tarimbáñon* affair a myth pure and simple without any foundation in fact? Maybe, but my informants certainly did not entertain any such ideas: they were firmly convinced of the reality of such happenings in bygone times, although they were completely unable to explain away any of the contradictions involved. Have their mortuary beliefs and customs changed in the course of time? Or does the *tarimbáñon* replace all other ceremonies and force *Kútaw* to bring the *kadudúwá* over the *lablabbáñ* without further requirements? I do not know, neither do the Isneg seem to know.

[194 775 Once buried a dead body loses its name *innát* and may eventually become a *balañóbáñ* (sometimes pronounced *bañalóbáñ; balañóbaú*, in Iloko, means "wanderer, vagabond", and is applied to ordinary human beings who are still alive), "ghost, phantom", a term which is almost always confined to wandering ghosts. The fact of becoming or not becoming a *balañóbáñ* after burial depends on the character of the deceased. If he is a good and virtuous person, he will be ashamed (say the Isneg) to wander about and annoy the neighbors in the shape of a *balañóbáñ;* or if some such person should become a wandering *balañóbáñ*, he will either go far away from the place of his tomb in order to startle unknown (and consequently unbeloved) people, or stay in the immediate neighborhood of the place of his death, but without bringing vexation to anybody around: all this because he is good and would feel ashamed to do otherwise. All other corpses, and these seem to form a considerable majority, become wandering *balañóbáñ*, and annoy the neighbors, except of course when they are kept from doing so by magical or other practices on the part of the living. If these practices, which keep a *balañóbáñ* at bay, are powerful enough, nothing is to be feared; but if they are ineffective, or if magic which causes a *balañóbáñ* to leave its grave and vex the neighbors is more powerful, then woe to your chickens. Indeed a *balañóbáñ*, after two or three nights in the grave, may not

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find its abode to its taste, and may creep out stealthily, shake off with both hands the earth that clung to it while winding its way out, and roam around at night feeding on chickens and charcoal (*bergáń*). That it feeds on chickens proves that the *balańóbáń* is really alive; that it feeds on charcoal shows that its life is not that of an ordinary human being.

These *balańóbáń* are also supposed to be very fond of annoying the women who go to work in the field: which seems but natural, as the women are usually much more afraid of ghosts than the men, and consequently will imagine much more easily that they have to do with a phantom, whenever they see something more or less out of the ordinary. Nevertheless, all Isneg, whether men or women, believe in *balańóbáń*, and I rarely met a man who did not positively assure me that he had seen one. Crossroads (*sisiníyán*) seem also to be a favorite haunt of these *balańóbáń:* the Isneg state that a *sisiníyán* is the usual place where they can be encountered, so that anybody who is anxious to meet a ghost, should lie in wait at a *sisiníyán*, and he will rarely be disappointed.

In some places, in order to prevent a dead body from leaving its tomb, the Isneg sometimes put a heavy stone (only one) upon the lid of the coffin, inside the grave; in others stones were placed on top of the tomb, after it has been filled up: but I doubt very much if the latter practice is resorted to by the Isneg with the purpose of keeping the buried corpse at bay. The description of tombs and of all purely magical practices which are of use in Apayaw, either to cause a dead body to leave its tomb and annoy the neighbors, or to prevent it from doing so, will find its place further on.

What does a *balańóbáń* look like? All Isneg agree that it has the shape of a man and that it is full of worms, but beyond this nothing definite can be gathered from native informants. When you ask people who live in more civilized areas and pretend to have seen ghosts, what the latter look like, you may get as many answers as there are informants, the one answer as vague as the other. The Isneg, like some weak-minded and credulous people among our own, see a ghost, especially at night, in every gnarled branch of a tree, in every disfigured shape, which they cannot clearly distinguish. The generality of the Isneg, if not all of them, will assure you most positively that they have seen real ghosts, and indeed they see ghosts at night in everything whose shape does not seem to correspond to something known to them, whether it be earth or stone, plant or animal,

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but they have never yet been able to see a ghost without some vagueness surrounding it. It should be noted in this connection that a *balańóbáń* has nocturnal habits.

But what is the ultimate fate of a *balańóbáń*? To this question the Isneg can give a definite answer: all *balańóbáń* decay in the end at *Magkébińán*. *Magkébińán* is the name of a cave, the usual dwelling place of all *balańóbáń*, and there their wandering life comes to an end sooner or later. Nobody can tell you anything definite, however, about the location of this cave or about the duration of a dead body's life as a *balańóbáń*.

All Isneg are convinced that tombs of wandering *balańóbáń* are empty and remain so. Once out of its tomb, no *balańóbáń* ever comes back to its former abode. And only the very few stay in their tomb; the generality of them start on their temporary wanderings as soon as they have been in the grave for two or three nights, long enough to dislike such a residence. Occasionally a few informants even state that no dead bodies ever decay in their graves. Nobody of course would venture to dig in a tomb in order to convince himself of the truth of his belief.

3. Causes of Death

What causes death? The Isneg seem to distinguish between two kinds of death, namely: what we would call "death by accident or death by violence", and "death from sickness". Under the Isneg viewpoint, however, the first kind of death has what I should like to call a "natural" cause, while the other kind has a "supernatural" cause.

Under the first head come all deaths whose cause is obvious and patent to everybody:

1. Death through murder or assassination (felonious homicide),—for instance, you plant a headax in the neck of your enemy and cut off his head. The Isneg, no more than anybody else, will doubt about the cause of your enemy's death. Here there is no necessity of suspecting the intervention of the spirits.

2. Death by accident or through judicial taking of life,—for instance, a man falls from a tree and breaks his neck, death ensuing, or a culprit is executed by the authorities, and so on. Here also the spirits are not considered as the immediate cause of death. To die like that is called *meránud* (past tense: *neránud*), while to die in general is called *matáy* (past tense: *natáy*). The stem *rānud*, in

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764 When the first outburst of lamentations, in the case of our dead
292 Isneg, has come to an end, the bystanders at once proceed to the preparation of the *innát* or corpse. The latter is first stripped of its old clothes, and carefully washed and cleaned; after that it is wiped dry and finally dressed up in the best clothes available. Some natives do not even shrink from clothing the corpse in silk, if their means allow such luxury; at any rate, it would be utterly shameful to the Isneg not to dress a dead body decently. This latter performance is called *magpaar-armát* (transitive: *paarmattán;* from the stem *armát*, "garments"). As has been stated before, each garment is partially torn (*maxăyxáy*) at one side.

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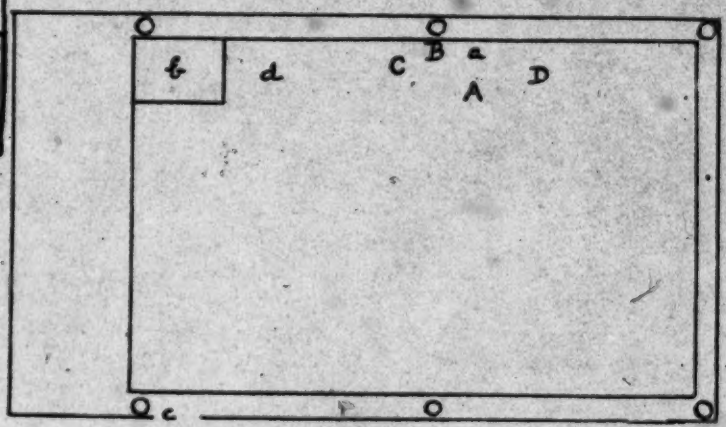

FIG. 3. FLOOR OF AN ISNEG HOUSE

A, Place of bier; a, place of the head of the *innát*; B, place of the *innát* in sitting posture; C, place of the *aróbon;* D, place of mourning relatives; b, hearth; c, door; d, place of woman in childbed.

764 In some places they insert a few *líbnó* herbs in the clothes of the *innát* for the following reason: on its way to the realm of the dead,
775 the *kaduduwá* is supposed to pass through a camote or sweet-potato field, in which there is a hut inhabited by an old woman, who is
772 intent on taking away from all passers-by their provisions and all their belongings; but if the latter have *líbnó*-herbs about their person, the old woman is powerless and they pass along unscathed.

764 In the meanwhile some others have been preparing the *tádag* or bier. The *tádag* consists of a certain number of entire bamboos, tied

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formed by any of the shamans. Indeed, why should the spirits be enticed to obsess the shaman at a time when everybody is bent on keeping them at a distance? Besides, the souls of the dead should be left where they are as long as the *inudt* is in the house, probably lest the *kadudwad* of the deceased be interfered with on its trip to the other world.

Women mourn and lament in a loud voice almost uninterruptedly, usually two or three at a time: when one group is tired, another one takes its place. Men rarely imitate them in this, especially after the first general outburst of grief, that takes place immediately after death is over, but they *magbibisndg* (slap one another's thighs: the game previously described, CAC–P, 3: 123-26). According to the Isneg, playing *bisndg* is a man's way of showing his grief: a certain chastisement of the body is undoubtedly involved in the whole performance, and just as the near relatives sometimes cut themselves at the death of one of their loved ones in order to show the intensity of their sorrow, so also the men, relatives, neighbors and friends, slap one another's thighs, often until blood spurts out, in order to prove to the whole assembly that they also take part and are far from remaining insensible in the presence of death. That a certain amount of voluntary infliction of pain is at the root of this question, is corroborated by the fact that some women occasionally take part in the *bisndg*, the more so that no member of the weaker sex ever plays the rôle of agent (*maúnd*), but merely receives the slaps (*magtón*) without rendering them. Expressions like the following may be heard frequently among the Isneg: "*Uráy magdáza ya apíko ta zakkánnamagsáñit* (even though my thighs bleed, as I do not weep)". In both cases, namely in that of men and in that of women, the *bisndg* is resorted to more especially by those who do little or no weeping; people, whether men or women, who do a good deal of lamenting, rarely take part in *bisndg*.

It goes without saying that the spirits are wide awake at the death of an Isneg, and that the survivors are annoyed with their unwelcome presence at every turn. Among others the following deserve special mention:

Dupappá-, whose tastes are very peculiar; indeed, he it is who absorbs the decayed matter (*saxó*) that flows from the nose and mouth of the deceased.

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Some tobacco, or some of the ingredients used in the chewing of betel nut (betel nut, leaves of the betel pepper, and lime), according to the former habits of the deceased. 764

To these may be added:

A bottle of *bási;*

One or more spears;

One or more shields;

Some coins;

Some favorite musical instrument of the deceased; etc.

One of the following objects is also usually present, and, in the case of a rich man, all of them:

A *saxabán* (string of beads worn around the head);

A string of beads (worn around the neck);

A *xúsi* jar containing some *bási* (in which case there is no bottle of *bási*).

Everything is placed inside the coffin, the *xúsi* excepted, which is buried in the hole especially dug for it.

These objects, even though some of them are very precious in the eyes of the Isneg, are never interfered with; they always remain where they are. The desecration of a grave by robbers or other malefactors is something unknown in Apayaw. 764 769 685

Sometimes it happens that an ill-intentioned person (never one of the relatives), probably moved by a desire for revenge, when unobserved, stealthily places some herbs in the coffin, alongside the body. He does this with the purpose of forcing the body to leave its abode at night in the shape of a *balañóbáñ*, and to roam around playing havoc among the chickens of the neighbors. 764 754 775

Before the body is placed in the grave, the bottom of the latter is strewn with ashes, obtained by burning an *anañá*, which is a kind of raincoat made of palm leaves. This ceremony is supposed to serve a double purpose: the raincoat will render good service to the deceased in the other world, and the ashes will prevent the dead body, either from leaving its grave in the shape of a *balañóbáñ* or ghost, or at least from frightening the neighbors.

Lest the *balañóbáñ* scare the relatives of the deceased or the women of the neighborhood who daily repair to their work, the Isneg usually put some *takkág* vines inside the coffin, alongside the body. The *takkág* is a schizaeaceous fern (Lygodium sp.), which differs from 764 824

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obtain at the death of a person, refers to certain persons or groups of persons entering and in some cases even approaching the house of the deceased. Therefore it is usual among many Isneg to surround the house with a kind of fence, which consists of a few short uprights stuck in the ground, and a couple of strips of bamboo tied to them in such a way as to remain at a respectable distance from one another. This custom is observed at Bolo, Karagawan, Dangla, Nagbabalayan, etc. At the latter place such a fence was erected after the burial of *To-lí* (beginning of 1931), but it was gone after the first month. In other settlements, a small bundle of herbs, or of leafy canes or branches, is tied to one of the poles at the entrance of the regular fence that surrounds many houses or groups of houses in Apayaw. Again in some places, a small internode of bamboo (an *anóxān*, used for a cup in the distribution of *bási*) is tied on top of a bamboo pole stuck in the house yard; this has been met with at Karagawan.

In some settlements, no outsiders, not even any of the neighbors, except the relatives of the deceased person, provided they wear their everyday clothes or their mourning apparel, are allowed to enter the house until the time of the *obóbāt*. In others, only persons of the same sex are forbidden access to the house; and in still others, for instance, at Magapta, only adults of both sexes are forbidden to enter the house where an adult has died, while only children are refused entrance into the house where a child died.

In most places, no children are allowed to enter the house where an *innát* is still left unburied; in others, they are not allowed to do so, even after burial, in which case this taboo lasts until the time of the *obóbāt*.

People in festive attire are strictly forbidden, not only to enter, but even to pass near, the house of a deceased person, until the celebration of the *obóbāt* ceremony: this custom obtains all over Apayaw.

The most important taboos connected with the death of a person are undoubtedly those which the Isneg observe when they *mańgabí* and *magló*.

Mańgabí, which means "to abstain from rice and taro (*siwáy*)", is practised by widows all over Apayaw, almost universally by widowers, and also in many instances by those relatives who wear mourning and want to show their esteem for the deceased. It lasts till the time of the *obóbāt*. Rice and taro are said to be the food of the dead for the time being and, in the meanwhile, the living have to content themselves with corn, sweet potatoes, yams and so on. I know a com-

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765 paratively young woman living at Bayag and called *Dorikâ*, who has
775 not eaten rice and taro for four consecutive years, and at the present
262 time (March, 1931) she still *waúgabi*. The reason is that she has had to mourn successively her husband and several other members of her family. She stated to me that she had completely forgotten the taste of rice. After the *obóbât*, when the prohibition is lifted, these persons always mix a few *awát* herbs with the rice they are cooking for their first meal, and they consume the *awát* together with the rest. For a month afterwards, they also usually abstain from corn, yams and sweet potatoes.

765 *Maglé:* this consists in abstaining from the use of anything of which the deceased was particularly fond, and may be practised by anybody who wants to show his esteem for the person in question. The purpose of the Isneg is to leave the use of these things to the person who went to the realm of the dead, and this abstinence may be protracted for many years, although it usually stops at the *obóbât*. So, if the deceased was fond of yams, sugar, etc., the mourners abstain from eating these articles of food; if he was a great smoker, they forego the use of tobacco; if he was a drunkard, they stop drinking *bási;* if he was accustomed to make much ado about his apparel, they wear nothing but a G-string and a headband. I have known a man who drank no water, but only coconut milk and so forth, because his deceased father was wont to drink much water. While I am writing these lines, there is a man in the house who uses absolutely no salt with any of his meals; he wishes to reserve it for his deceased brother who was exceedingly fond of much-salted food. If the deceased liked to play the *balíkiú* or nose flute, such instruments are left aside for the time being. If the woman for whom they mourn was a good *oriáu* (native guitar) player, the mourners give up playing that instrument; and so on.

765 It should be noted in this connection that the Isneg also under-
523 stand the meaning of a souvenir or keepsake. If the deceased had made something nice or had a trinket or instrument which he valued
193 very highly, the survivors take those things to themselves as *panam-dammán* (something used to remember or to think about somebody; from the stem *damdám*, "thinking", the prefix *paú*, *ú* of the prefix and *d* of the stem being combined into *n*, and the suffix *ân*) or *pag-sinsinnán* (something used to see or to look at somebody; from the stem *siñán*, "seeing", reduplicated and syncopated into *sinsinn*, the prefix *pag* and the suffix *ân*).

Do not jump over a child. If you do, his growth will be retarded. 784

At first glance one might think that life in Apayao is greatly restricted by the necessity of placating all the *anitos* and of observing the many auguries, omens, and prohibitions. But, after being around some, I cannot help getting the impression somehow, that all this is partly just the men's sly way to getting out of a lot of hard work and disagreeable duties. At least, the placating of the *anitos* gives them the occasion for many very pleasant social times. 771 784 787 782 781

BURIAL

When death comes, the Apayaos, unlike the Christians, do not dread it as being the end of life on this earth; for the spirit *cadudorosa*, continues to exist somewhere and enjoy many of their physical pleasures without the discomforts. The people respect these spirits and go to great pains to see that they are made happy, both during the funeral ceremony and also during the following years. At all the feasts a portion of the best food and *basi* is placed on a plate, which is then set near the stove where the immediate supply of rice is kept. The people want to keep the spirits of their ancestors happy and contented for, if one should become discontented, he will select a person in the house to keep him company. The person then becomes sick and will die if a feast is not held to make that spirt happy and contented again. 761 775 769 [753]

When a person dies, all the relatives immediately gather in his house and hold a *callas* in his memory. 764

the body of the wife or husband as he lies beside the corpse. Then the relatives vie with each other in geting the fluid and rubbing it over their bodies. This will influence the dead to request for them from the ancestral spirits, longer lives and healthier bodies. 764

When the time for burial arrives, the corpse, dressed in its best clothes, is laid in a wooden coffin. With it may be placed food, *buyo*, and weapons for the use of spirit of the dead. As the coffin is carried along to the place of burial, grains of rice may be scattered along the way. The coffin is usually placed in an excavation about five feet deep either under the house or under the granary. With the corpse are buried baskets and other articles, depending on the wealth of the family. A small shelter is built over the grave if it is not otherwise shaded: for the dead must be protected from the heat. Then the burial service, pronounced in the ancient cadence, is said.

Some people bury their dead under huge rocks or in caves. After a time, when only the bones remain, they are collected, placed in a small box, and put in the granary.

Following the burial, the relatives, if they are wealthy, return to the house and continue the merry-making. They may also play games. One game, *bisnag*, is a contest in which the boys take turns slapping each other's bare thighs with their hands. The loser is the one who cannot stand the pain any more and gives up. 765 526

On the third night after burial the spirit of the dead comes out of the grave and wanders around. It is sometimes seen. The bereaved husband or wife 765 [775]

847 ——*Kani maluhag da natudog gidam men. Ay acka:s da pay amo to dalan di nalen da. Toto natudog da amin, agidogan da capag nat.*

——When the children woke up, it was already dark. So they did not know which way to go, as it was so very dark. They slept again and waited until dawn. In the morning they started for home. These children had no hope of reaching home, as they did not know the way and they were very hungry.

——*Ito pagmaat mawoay dan ca balay da. Am ackan da amo to dalan. Cana mabisan da paang natay da. To nagkatag da to ama da.*

——In the morning they started for home without knowing the way. They walked and walked until they died of hunger.

——*Cani matay da to ananac da nagpatay da paang. Ata bitig ya pananan da.*

——When the parents knew that they were dead, they were very happy: for they now had few children to support.

WHY THE PEOPLE ARE TATTOOED

304 775 If an old man is asked why his hands are tattooed on the back with the boat pattern, he will give the following account of his future life.

When a person dies his soul, *cadudorsa*, goes to live in a lovely place under the earth. It goes down

in the ordinary ground until it comes to a wide river which it cannot cross alone.— 304 775

However, at the river the *cadudorsa* meets a ferryman whose name is Kutao. Before taking the *cadudorsa* across, Kutao must first inspect it to see if its appearance is right. He looks on the backs of the hands of the *cadudorsa* to see if they are tattooed with the boat pattern. If they are, Kutao ferries the *cadudorsa across*. If the hands are not tattooed, Kuta cuts them off before taking the *cadudorsa* across the river.

Upon arriving at the place, each *cadudorsa* becomes young and handsome again and changes so that all of the people in that place are similar in appearance. 775

The place of the *cadudorsa* is a wonderful country, with the same kind of plants and animals as on the earth; but everything is perfectly lovely. Life there is much as on earth; but everybody is happy because there is no pain, nor sorrow, nor work.

The ruler of the place is Ewagan fourth son of Hatan. He creates food for the people and takes care of all their needs so that they have no work and responsibilities, living in continuous leisure. [776]

Thus life in the Future is one continuous party. Also a *cadudorsa* is sometimes invited by his relatives to attend a *sayam* in his old home on earth. 769 776